



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

MINOR STUDIES FROM THE PSYCHOLOGICAL LABORATORY OF CORNELL UNIVERSITY.

Communicated by E. B. TITCHENER and H. P. WELD

XLII. THE PSYCHOLOGICAL ATTITUDE OF CHARLES DICKENS TOWARD SURNAMES

By E. DE LASKI

This paper is one of a series begun by Kollarits¹ and Claparède,² and continued by English³ and Alspach,⁴ on the psychological response to proper names. Kollarits and English have made out the associative factors which condition the response, the latter finding in particular that, except perhaps in the case of highly responsive observers, the mere sound of the name is not an important factor. Since this result was contrary to a suggestion of Claparède's, English proposed two problems for further investigation: (1) a detailed analysis of the reactions of highly responsive observers, and (2) a psychological examination of the proper names employed by certain writers of fiction. Alspach undertook the first of these studies in the case of a single observer; and we now report a study of the second problem as regards a single author.

We selected Charles Dickens, partly because Claparède had said that this author among others invented names which by their physiognomy suggested particular types of persons, and partly because there seems to be a general belief that Dickens was highly successful in choosing names which suited his characters. This is, indeed, the general conclusion reached by Gordon, who has written a monograph on the subject.⁵ There are, however, two points of view here involved which should be clearly distinguished. It is one thing to ask whether a proper name in and of itself may suggest a particular type of individual (Claparède's question), and it is quite another thing to ask whether a given name suits a character whose attributes are known (Gordon's inquiry). In the former case, the name alone is given and the associations are free; in the latter, both name and character are given for comparison, and the associations are therefore controlled. As method, the second procedure is full of pitfalls; not only do old associations stand in the way but, given the laws of Similarity and

¹ J. Kollarits, *Observations de psychologie quotidienne*, *Arch. de psychol.*, xiv, 1914, 225-240.

² E. Claparède, *ib.*, 301 f.

³ G. English, *On the Psychological Response to Proper Names*, *This Journal*, xxvii, 1916, 417-434.

⁴ E. Alspach, *ib.*, xxviii, 1917, 436-543.

⁵ E. H. Gordon, *The Naming of Characters in the Works of Charles Dickens*, *Univ. of Nebraska Studies in Language, Literature and Criticism* (Lincoln, 1917). We do not wish to imply that this paper is open to the following general criticism of method. The author has been cautious, and her paper is highly suggestive.

Contrast, one can argue to the suitability of any name to any character.

The study of an author's psychological attitude to proper names is, of course, a much broader problem. We must inquire first of all into the source or origin of his names; and if we find that he constructed them, then we must discover, if possible, his method. Next, we must examine them as significant, and find out if we can what associative factors conditioned their employment. Then we may attempt a characterization of his attitude. We have found it impossible to carry this programme through all of Dickens's works; and we have, therefore, restricted our examination to *The Pickwick Papers* and *Nicholas Nickleby* as representing the novels of his earlier, and *Our Mutual Friend* as representing those of his later period.⁶

ORIGIN OF DICKENS' SURNAMES

Our positive information concerning Dickens' method of finding names for his characters is slight. We know only that in his 'memo-randa' was a list of christian names selected from Privy Council Education Lists; that there was also a list of 'available names' from which he made selections for the novels between *Little Dorrit* and *Our Mutual Friend* inclusive;⁷ that in some instances he borrowed the names of known persons and places;⁸ that in other instances a name passed through a transition of several changes in spelling before the final form was hit upon;⁹ and, finally, that occasionally he used nicknames which he had invented for intimate friends and his children.¹⁰

These facts make it probable that Dickens borrowed more English surnames than is generally supposed. Accepting this supposition as a hint of method, we set out first of all to determine how many of Dickens' surnames are in fact British surnames. In the course of this search, we discovered a large number of the former which differ from the latter only in suffix: the stems are the same, but by addition, subtraction, substitution, or slight change in spelling, the terminal formatives have been altered. We accordingly listed these as names 'derived from British surnames.' We have, however, also included under this category the few instances of agglutination, and the still rarer cases where the stem itself undergoes a slight change in spelling. Working thus by a method of elimination, we next subtracted those names also which are English words, and those which are 'derived from English words.' We were then left with a 'remainder,' some of which are drawn from various traceable sources, while others are of questionable origin.¹¹ The list by novels under the above categories, and a quantitative summary in the form of a table, follow.

⁶*Pickwick Papers* was written in 1836-37; *Nicholas Nickleby* in 1838-39; and *Our Mutual Friend* in 1865. We shall hereafter refer to these works in the order named as P. P., N. N., and O. M. F.

⁷J. F. Forster, *Life of Charles Dickens*, iii, 1874, 262 ff.

⁸Forster, *op. cit.*, i, 1874, 32, 88 note; J. Kitton, *Charles Dickens, His Life, Writings and Personality*, 24; P. FitzGerald, *History of Pickwick*, 86, 153 f, 310.

⁹Forster, *op. cit.*, ii, 1873, 23; Kitton, *op. cit.*, 174 ff.

¹⁰G. Hogarth and M. Dickens, edd., *Letters of Charles Dickens*, 1893, 101.

¹¹The dictionaries to which we have had access are: W. Arthur, *An Etymological Dictionary of Family and Christian Names* (1857); H. Barber, *British Family Names* (1894); C. W. Bardsley, *A Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames* (1901); H. Harrison, *Surnames of*

PICKWICK PAPERS

British Surnames: Allen, Bamber, Bardell, Brooks, Budkin, Bullman, Bulder, Burton, Clarke, Craddock, Crawley, Cummins, Dodson, Dowler, Edmunds, Fogg, Goodwin, Griggs, Grub, Grundy, Gunter, Gwynn, Harris, Heyling, Hopkins, Humm, Hunt, Hunter, Jackson, Jinks, Lowten, Lucas, Magnus, Mallard, Manning, Martin, Miller, Mudge, Payne, Pell, Pickwick, Pipkin, Pott, Price, Raddle, Rogers, Roker, Sanders, Sawyer, Simpson, Smart, Smithers, Smithie, Snodgrass, Staple, Stiggins, Tompkins, Tomlinson, Trotter, Trundle, Tupman, Walker, Wardle, Weeks, Weller, Wicks, Wilkins, Winkle.

*Derived from British Surnames:*¹² Ayresleigh (Ayres and Leigh), Bantam (Banton), Beller (Bell, Ballard), Bilson (Billar, Billing), Boffer (Boffey), Budger (Budge, Budgen), Blazo (Blaze, Blazy), Clubber (Clubb), Crookey (Crook, Crooke, Crooks), Dubbley (Dubber, Duberly), Dumkins (Dumville), Fitzmarshall (Fitz and Marshall), Fizkin (Fitz, Fidkin, Fitkin), Hutley (Hutt, Hutson), Lobbs (Lobb), Luffey (Luff), Matinter (Mattin), Mordlin (Mordan, Morden), Mudberry (Mudie, Muddieman), Muzzle (Muzzell), Noddy (Nodder), Perker (Perk, Perkins), Phunky (Funk), Podder (Podd), Ramsey, (Ram, Ramsden), Simmery (Simm, Simmons), Tadger (Tady), Tappleton (Tapp, Tapper), Tuckle (Tuck, Tuckey), Watty (Watt), Whiffins and Whiffers (Whiff), Witherfield (With, Witherow).

English words: Jingle, Namby, Slum, Snicks, Snipe, Smouch, Struggles.

Derived from English words: Blotton, (blot, blotten), Bolo (bolus), Boldwig, Buzfuz, Crushton (crush), Filletoville, Fizzgig, Flasher (flash), Grummer (grum), Mutanhed, Nockemorf, Skimpin(g), Slammer (slam), Slasher (slash), Slumkey (slum), Smiggers (smigg), Smorltork, Snubbin(g), Snuphanuph, Stareleigh (stare), Prosee (prose), Porkenham.

Remainder: Bladud, Cluppins, Donna, Christina, Groffin, Gurgum, Lud, Mivens, Nupkins, Pruffle, Quanko Samba, Slurk, Smangle, Smauker, Slummintowken, Tollinglower, Upwitch, Wugsby. Bladud, son of Lud, is a mythical king, reputed founder of the city of Bath. Christina was queen regent of Spain during the years 1833-40. Slurk and Smangle suggest lurk and mangle. Cluppins, Groffin, Gurgum, Mivens and Nupkins have as stems archaic or provincial words which may have been known to Dickens; cluppe (to embrace) or clop (to hobble), groffe (ground), gurgy (a stubby hedge, Scotch gurg, to make

the United Kingdom (1912-19-); M. A. Lower, *A Dictionary of the Family Names of the United Kingdom* (1860); L. Wagner, *More About Names* (1893); *id.*, *Names and their Meaning* (1892); E. Weekly, *The Romance of Names* (1914); *id.*, *Surnames* (1916). The Scottish equivalents will be found in A. Warrack, *A Scots Dialect Dictionary* (1911); the obsolete and provincial terms in T. Wright, *Dictionary of Obsolete and Provincial English* (1857), and J. Wright, *The English Dialect Dictionary*, 1898-1905. We have also consulted the slang dictionaries, particularly that of J. S. Farmer and W. E. Henley, but to no avail; Dickens, apparently, did not employ slang in forming surnames.

¹²The names within parentheses are the nearest discoverable British surnames.

a creaking noise), miver, miveys (a mortar, marbles), nup, nupson (fool). Upwitch (Upwich) is a village in Kent.¹³

NICHOLAS NICKLEBY

British Surnames: Adams, Belling, Bevan, Bonney, Bray, Brooker, Brooke, Clark, (La) Creevy, Crowl, Cutler, Digby, Dowdle, Green, Hawk, Hawkins, Jenkins, Jennings, Johnson, Lane, Matthews, Mobbs, Palmer, Pitcher, Pluck, Price, Pyke, Simmonds, Squeers, Thomas, Tompkins, Watkins, Westwood.

Names derived from British Names: Blockson (Block, Blocker), Bobster (Boby), Bolder (Bold), Browdie (Brow, Brodie), Brown-dock (Brown, Docking), Borum (Borer), Cabbery (Cabble), Chopkins (Chopping), Cobbey (Cobb, Cobby), Cropley (Cropper), Crummles (Crum, Crummock), Curdle (Curd), Dorker (Dorner, Dorling), Folair (Foley, Folgate), Graymarsh (Gray, Marsh), Gregsbury (Greg, Gregson), Gride (Gridely), Grimble (Grimbleby), Knag (Knagg), Kenwigs (Ken, Kendal), Ledrook (Leder, Ledson), Lenville (Leney, Lenain), Linkinwater (Link, Linklater), Lillyvick (Lilly, Vick), Lukin (Luken), Lumbey (Lumby), Marker (Mark), Mogley (Mogford), Muntle (Munt, Mundie), Nickleby (Nickel), Petowker (Peto), Pupker (Puplett), Ruddle (Rudlock), Scaley (Scales), Smifser (Smith, sir), Snewkes (Snooks), Sprouter (Sprout), Timberry (Timbury), Tipslark (Tipler, Lark), Trimmers (Trimmer).

English words: Dabber, Nog(g)s, Snob(b).

Derived from English words: Cheeryble (cheery), Chowser (chouse), Gallanbile, Gazingi, Koeldwethout, Peltirogus (pelt-a-rogue), Pugstyles, Sliderskew (slide, askew), Snuffim, Tix (tics or ticks), Verisopht, Wititlerly (wit, titter), Wrymug.

Remainder: Belvawney (bellevue?), Bravassa (bravo), Bulph, Dibabs, Glavermelly, Grudden, Pluggers, Smike, Snawley (snarly), Snevellici (snivel?), Swillenhause. Some of these are apparently derived from Scotch words: Bulph (bulf, a fat person), Glavermelly (glaver, to chatter, babble), Smike (smicker, to smirk, to smile fawningly); Swillenhause (swill, to souse; hause, throat).

OUR MUTUAL FRIEND

British Names: Baldwin, Blight, Blogg, Boffin, Brewer, Cleaver, Day, Dancer, Elwes, Goody, Handford, Harmon, Harrison, Holmes, Hopkins, Jardine, Jones, Kibble, Lightwood, Little, Martin, Mullins, Noakes, Owen, Parker, Reid, Sampson, Taylor, Tippins, Tootle, Twemlow, Venus, Wegg, Wilcocks, Williams, Wood, Wren.

Derived from British Names: Akershem (Ackerson), Bocker (Bock), Boots (Boot), Chicksey (Chick), Gliddery (Glide), Hawkinson (Hawkins), Headstone (Head, Stone), Hexam (Hexter), Higden (Higdon), Jarrel (Jarred), Joey (Joel), Lammle (Lammie), Milvey (Milvain), Overs (Over), Peecher (Peachar), Podsnap (Podd, Podmore), Poddles (same), Potterson (Potter, Potterton), Pubsey (Pudsey), Riderhood (Rider, Hood), Rokesmith (Rokester), Radfoot (Radcliffe, Radway), Sprodgkin (Sprodgeon), Stobbles (Stobbs), Tapkins (Taphouse), Toddles (Todd), Twopence (Twopenny, Fourpence), Whitrose (Whitmore), Wilfer (Wilford, Wilful), Wrayburn (Wray, Burns).

¹³For this origin of Upwitch as a Dickens surname, see FitzGerald, *op. cit.*, 86.

English Words: Buffer, Gruff and Glum, Sloppy, Veneering, Glamour, Linseed, Styles.

Derived from English Words: Fledgeby (fledge, fledgely), Snigs-worth (snig), Swoshle (swash, swasher, a swaggerer).

Remainder: Riah (Uriah), Grompus (grumpy; Scotch grumph, growl), Sauteuse (dancer).

RELATIVE FREQUENCIES OF THE NAMES UNDER THE VARIOUS CATEGORIES
IN PERCENTS

Novel	British Surnames	Derived from Brit. Names	Eng. words	Derived from Eng. words	Remainder
P. P.	47	22	5	14	11
N. N.	33	40	3	13	11
O. M. F.	46	37	9	4	4

An inspection of the above lists and of the quantitative summary shows unmistakably that a large majority of Dickens' names are either British surnames or easily derivable from them. This does not mean, however, that they were necessarily and knowingly selected as we have classified them. For, in the first place, our categories are not exclusive; a number of good British family names are also good English words; and, as we shall later see, some names which appear in our lists of family names were chosen, primarily at least, for their significance as words. Furthermore, it is logically possible to find still other means of classification, which might prove to be as inclusive as our own. Nevertheless, the fact that of the total of 326 names in the three novels, 74% are British or derived from British family names, and the further fact that less than 10% fail to be subsumed under our four categories, raises a strong presumption that Dickens was not as original in his selection of surnames as is ordinarily supposed.

Dickens, then, did not, apparently, 'invent' names in the strict meaning of that term; he selected names and re-formed them, and he chose meaningful words and constructed names out of them. His favorite device for making new names was, as we have seen, to alter the suffix. In P. P., the new suffixes are principally *er*, *ers* (13 cases), *y*, *ly*, *leigh*, *ee* (10 cases), *in(s)*, *kin(s)* (6 cases), and *an*, *am*, *on* (4 cases). There is only one instance of a word-suffix (*field*). In N. N., the relative frequency of *in*, *kin* decreases, that of *ly*, *le* increases, while that of the other syllables remains about the same. There is, however, a decided increase in the number of word-suffixes (*dock*, *air*, *bile*, *wigs*, *rook*, *ville*, *lark*). Finally, in O. M. F., the decrease is in the frequency of *er*, *ers*, the others remaining at about the same relative frequency; and there is a new list of word-suffixes (*mop*, *hood*, *smith*, *foot*, *rose*, *burn*, *worth*). A second method was to change a given name or word in some way that obscured the original form. Thus the name of the family dog Timberly became Timber; the original nickname of Dickens' son Charley, Master Toby,

was altered into Flaster Floby; and Dickens himself says that Mantalini came in the same way from Muntle. It is, of course, impossible to say how many names in the three novels originated by this method: Riah we are sure of, and we suspect Petowker, Slummintowken, Tollimglower, and Quanko (Sancho).¹⁴ A third contrivance was the ancient trick of making a name out of a pair of words or a phrase spelled more or less phonetically, as *e.g.*, Filletoville, Gazingi, Mutanhed, Peltirogus, Porkenham, Smortork, Snuphanuph, and Verisopht.

DICKENS' ATTITUDE TOWARD SURNAMES

In the studies of Kollarits, English and Alspach, the principal associative factors which condition the response to proper names have been found to be five in number: (1) suggestion of nationality; (2) meaning of the word; (3) auditory-verbal associations (Gronch suggests grouch, grunts); (4) suggestion by the mere sound of the name (Claparède's 'physiognomy'); (5) suggestion by the same or similar name (Boppum suggests Bottom). Not all these factors are, however, equally effective for all observers; and we may therefore gain an insight into a particular individual's disposition toward proper names by determining what factors are, for him, the more effectual. We propose to analyse Dickens' attitude in this way. It is true that his procedure was in the reverse order of that of the experiments: *i.e.*, he found a name to suit the character, instead of a character to fit the name. Nevertheless our method is justified. For the experiments have again shown that character and fitting name belong to the same attitude; that the name 'points to' the character, just as the character 'points to' the name. We shall, however, make our results doubly sure by reference, where possible, to other sources than the names themselves.

(1) *Nationality*. There is no doubt that Dickens was disposed for the nationality of names. The context tells us that Quanko Samba was West Indian, that Bolero Fizzgig and Christina were Spanish, that Koëldwethout and Swillenhausen were German, that Sautouse was French, and that Smortork was a foreigner. Furthermore, Dickens explains that Mantalini was "originally Muntle, but it had been converted by easy transition into Mantalini: the lady rightly considering that an English appellation would be of serious injury to the business."¹⁵ Perhaps Snellici (snivel), Belvawney (bellevue?), Bravassa (bravo), and Glavermelly (glaver), all of which are part English and part foreign, were chosen for a similar reason.¹⁶ Finally, since Dickens was writing English stories, it must have been his "feel" for the nationality of a name that led to his reliance on English surnames in good standing and on names derived from them. The trick of retaining the stem and adding a new (but an English) suffix gives to a name, in itself unfamiliar, all the familiarity of an

¹⁴Gordon suggests that Dickens may also have employed what Weekley terms 'baby phonetics' in the formation of surnames. Thus, Mudge may be a childish pronunciation of Smudge, and Smangle of Mangle. In the former the initial s is dropped, in the latter an inorganic s is added. Gordon, *op. cit.*, 28; E. Weekley, *Romance of Names*, 39 f.

¹⁵N. N., x.

¹⁶Alspach's observer reported that a combination of factors may occur in a single name, and that occasionally they may point in opposite directions: *op. cit.*, 438 f.

English name. Despite the general certainty of Dickens' touch for nationality of the name, there are, however, occasional lapses: Fizzgig, for example, is not Spanish, and neither Bolo nor Blazo is characteristically English.

(2) *Meaning of the Word.* The large number of names that are also English words is, in itself, indicative of Dickens' use of the meaning of the word as an associative condition. But there is further evidence in the novels. For example, we read of the "dismal boy whose appropriate name was Blight;"¹⁷ we are told that Buffer, Boots and Brewer are in fact "stuffed Buffers interposed between the rest of the company and possible accidents."¹⁸ Finally, not to multiply instances, Dickens clearly reveals his attitude in this regard by his account of the neighbors' attempt to supply christian names for Wilfer, who signed his name with an R. "Some of these were more or less appropriate: as Rusty, Retiring, Ruddy, Round, Ripe, Ridiculous, Ruminative; others derived their point from their want of application; as Raging, Rattling, Roaring, Raffish."¹⁹ Here we have the traditional laws of Similarity and Contrast. The latter, however, Dickens himself seems to have employed only rarely. The name of Venus is probably one such instance; Lammle, another; and the christian name of Pleasant Riderhood is an anomaly which causes Wegg to exclaim: "Pleasant! Dear me! Seems to express what she might have been if she hadn't made that unpleasant remark—and what she ain't in consequence of having made it."²⁰

All told, 82 of the 327 names in our three novels are English words. Thirteen of these, however, are either too common as surnames to be suggestive, or of so little descriptive value as to be insignificant (e.g., Brooks, Hunt, Hunter, Miller, Walker, Wood).²¹ On the other hand, there are 63 names which are so like English words as to have all their descriptive value; e. g., Poddles, Toddles, Chopkins, Podsnap, Flasher, Borum, Pupker. There are then 118 names, 36%, that are obviously significant.²²

(3) *Auditory-Verbal Associations.* The external evidence for the presence of this factor in Dickens is his fondness for rhyming and alliterative names, and for the obscuring changes which we have already noted. The instance in which the judge in *Pickwick's* trial mistakes Phunkey for Monkey is, of course, a case in point. A name which properly belongs to this group is one that readily suggests one or several words which are similar in sound and meaning, and that accords with an attitude common both to the words and to the name. Examples taken at random are: Tadger, badger; Bobster, lobs-

¹⁷O. M. F., viii.

¹⁸O. M. F. i, ii.

¹⁹O. M. F. i, iv.

²⁰O. M. F. iii, vii.

²¹In *P. P.*, Dickens forces the meaning of *Hunter* by the prefix *Leo*.

²²Our criterion for the classification of these names was to accept a name to which a number of American college students responded with the stem, or suffix, or both (as in Podsnap), when instructed to react with the 'first word that came.' The method is arbitrary, but the results check numerically with a classification by derivation (i.e., names derived from English words). We have omitted, however, those names which seemed to be derived from archaic, provincial or Scotch words. If these be admitted as significant for Dickens, then the percentage of names significant for him would be about 40%.

ter; Grompus, grumpy; Grumble, grumble. A prettier instance, one noted by Gordon, is Squeers, which suggests queer, sneer, shear, squeeze, squirm, squeal, etc.²³ There is a 'feel' about these words which, when taken as descriptive, belongs to the 'feel' we have for the character. We have found, again checking our own selections by experiments with a group of college students, 53 of these words, or about 15% of the total.

(4) *Suggestion by Mere Sound of the Name.* Dickens gives direct proof of his 'feel' for the sound of a name in the following protocol: "Reginald Wilfer is a name with rather a grand sound, suggesting on first acquaintance brasses in country churches, scrolls in stained-glass windows, and generally the De Wilfers who came over with the Conqueror." And he gives indirect evidence in the names themselves. We learn from the experimental investigations that, "other things being equal, a long name is a bit important, a short one a little contemptuous;" and 70% of the names in our three novels are of two syllables, 15% of one syllable, and nearly all those of three and four syllables are absurd concoctions like Mutanhed, Slummintowken, etc. Again we are told that the shorter and thinner vowels suggest quick and slight movements and slender objects, i.e., active, small, or more or less insignificant persons; and about 65% of our names have short vowels in the accented syllable; *i* as in *it*, *u* as in *up*, and *a* as in *at* predominate in the order named.²⁴ Furthermore, short or thin vowels in combination with initial and final stopped-consonants (cat, pet, tip, but, etc.) are so suddenly initiated and quickly stopped as to make these the most insignificant of words; when, however, a suffix is added to such a word, particularly when the final consonant of the stem is doubled or two stopped-consonants are used in combination (Podder, Tadger), an odd, droll, rustic effect is produced, which rests upon the sound of the light vowel in combination with the heavy, ponderous consonants. 66% of the dissyllabic names in our lists have one or more stopped-consonants (b, d, g, p, t, k) in the middle of the name; only 17% have the liquids l, m, n, r; and 7% f, ff, or th. Finally, the variation in the sound of the suffixes, which we have noted above, is significant. Syllables are less sonorous than word-suffixes, and the former prevail in P. P., the latter in N. N. and O. M. F. Furthermore, the word-suffixes in O. M. F. have a greater dignity of sound than those in P. P.

On the whole, it seems clear that Dickens' attitude toward the sound of surnames led him to choose names of a general type; they tend to be short in length, and to consist of short or thin vowels in combination with stopped consonants in the middle of the name. Their suffixes are also thin in sound, but tend to become more sonorous in the later novels. The result is a type of name suitable to the lower and middle classes, and to stupid or silly persons of the upper class, to characters a little contemptible, odd, awkward, clumsy, droll. That there are numerous exceptions only goes to show that the type does not fit all the characters; but it is surprising how few broad, generous, dignified sounds there are in the list.

We cannot, of course, say how many names were recommended to Dickens solely by their sound. There can be little doubt of those like Dibabs, Gride, Grudden, Folair, Petowker, Lillywick, Pickwick,

²³Gordon, *op. cit.*, 27. Similar instances are here given from other novels.

²⁴See references cited by Alspach, *op. cit.*, 440.

Nickleby, and Wrayburn,²⁵ which do not readily suggest meanings; but in so many instances sound and meaning unite in their effect that it is impossible to say which factor conditioned the choice. Furthermore, it is probable that some of the names which to us are too common to be of any significance whatever were, for Dickens entirely relevant. Our estimate, therefore, of the names that are suitable only by sound (as about 10%) has little value.

(5) Previous experiments have also shown that, if the stimulus-name happens to be identical with or similar to that of a known person, then the person described will frequently have the attributes of the person known. That Dickens was guided by this principle is evident from the name Stareleigh which, as the biographers tell us, is a verbal modification of Gaselee, a judge of the time whom Dickens openly ridiculed.²⁶ Furthermore, the names Venus, Bladud, Christina, and if our guess is correct Quanko Samba, were apparently also used with the intention of suggesting the originals.

What then, shall we say of the large list of British names, many of which were borrowed from known persons and were therefore familiar to some of his readers, and others of which (like Allen, Green, Jackson, Martin, Williams, Wood) were among the commonest in all England, and were therefore familiar to everybody?²⁷ Was Dickens psychologically justified in assigning them to his characters? In the first place, we have already seen that he was justified on the score of nationality. In the second place, he may have perceived a suitability in the name despite old associations, and have depended upon the story to furnish new associations which should eventually take precedence of the old. Or, finally, it may be that he employed the name as a tag or label, without raising the question of its suitability. This must certainly have been his motive as regards the very common names: for as a rule they are assigned to secondary characters, and no attempt is made to give them reality. According to our count, 40 of the 327 names, or 12%, have no other significance than that of mere label.

We have found, thus far, in our analysis of Dickens' attitude toward surnames, that he was strongly disposed to employ those that were actual British names, or were derived from these or from English words. He did not invent his names outright, but constructed them by change of suffix or spelling or by intentionally facetious corruption. His selection was conditioned upon nationality; upon explicable meaning (including that reached by auditory-verbal associations); upon the bare sound of the word; and upon the associations aroused by the same or by a similar name. As a result, about half of his names are directly or indirectly descriptive of individual traits. His list as a whole tends toward a type of name which expresses an individuality somewhat contemptible, awkward, clumsy, droll. Many names, nevertheless, have no other significance than that of identifying labels.

There is thus no reason to suppose that Dickens is exceptional in his attitude toward surnames. He is 'highly responsive' to these words; and his keen dramatic instinct,²⁸ his tendency toward strong lines of characterization (critics have charged him with caricature), and his

²⁵Although there may be a pun in Ray-burn and Light-wood.

²⁶Kitton, *op. cit.*, 45.

²⁷See E. Weekley, *Romance of Names*, 43 ff.

²⁸We have found no evidence, though we looked for it, that Dickens took names from the characters of plays.

exuberant animal spirits, have led him to admit punning and farcical names which remain in our memory and shed their glow over the rest.²⁹ More distinctive than the attitude toward surnames is the attitude which we have discovered toward the *characters* of the novels studied. On the whole, if we may trust the evidence of the names, Dickens tends to look down on his characters; he stands apart and exhibits them, pointing out their weaknesses and uncouthnesses with a sort of good-humored superiority. This collateral outcome of the present study is confirmed, so far as we have read, by literary criticism.

²⁹A parallel study—now unfortunately interrupted—of the surnames in George Meredith's novels seems to show that in this as in other respects Meredith is the direct successor of Dickens in the history of the English novel.